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ABSTRACT

This program development document is submitted--at an intermediate stage of planning--to urge that NIE take certain action for improving education of the poor. Suggestions made are illustrative, not prescriptive. Problems are solved by action, not by speculation; but which Federal action to take is a matter for NIE development and research. After six weeks of preliminary research on which actions are most needed, five conclusions have been reached: (1) few problems of educating the poor are going tc be solved without the non-poor removing barriers to educational opportunity; community-action development and research is needed to study the removal of barriers; (2) the Federal government and other governments are the principle instruments of community actic n, but often the major impediments to community redevelopment activities. Some major development and research, including experimentation activities, should be focused on government intervention and cbstruction; (3) to study ways governments may more effectively support community redevelopment, NIE needs the power to establish agencies which, once chartered, are no longer subject to NIE or USOE program directives; (4) the success of all educational programs rests on the quality of personal interactions; NIE development and research should be expected to create better ways of getting talented and compassionate people working on problems of educating the poor; and, (5) the elimination of inequality in education is closely related to the restoration of equality through legal structures. Some of NIE's resources should be focused on researching ways the legal structure works for and against the poor. (Author/JM)

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A PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT DOCUMENT TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

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NIE Development and Research Tasks

This program development document is submitted--at an intermediate stage of planning--to urge that NIE take certain action for improving education of the poor. Suggestions made, such as facilitating small community subgroups and redefining credentialing operations, are illustrative, not prescriptive.

Problems are solved by action, not by speculation; but which federal action to take is a matter for NIE development and research. After six weeks of preliminary research on which actions are most needed, five conclusions have been reached. Readers responsible for initial NIE commitments should consider the implication of these conclusions for funding, staffing, and setting operational constraints.

1. Few problems of educating the poor are going to be solved without the non-poor removing barriers to educational opportunity. Community-action development and research is needed to study the removal of barriers.

2. The federal government and other governments are the principle instruments of community action, but often the major impediments to community redevelopment activities. Some major development and research, including experimentation activities, should be focused on government intervention and obstruction.

3. To study ways governments may more effectively support community redevelopment, NIE needs the power to establish agencies which, once chartered, are no longer subject to NIE or USOE program directives. This action is critical if the discordant energies bound up in cultural diversity are to serve as a source of renewal for the American peoples.

4. The success of all educational programs rests on the quality of personal interactions. During an era of dramatic social transition and adversary relationships trust becomes a scarce commodity; therefore, the need for an education marked by humane transactions is imperative. NIE development and research should be expected to create better ways of getting talented and compassionate people working on problems of educating the poor.

5. The elimination of inequality in education is closely related to the restoration of equality through legal structures. Some of NIE's resources should be focused on researching ways the legal structure works for and against the poor. Development of procedures to restore equality by changing legal structures can be seen as one example of the way societal barriers can be removed.

Social Symptoms

Educators rarely agree on what the outcome of education should be, what the ideal climate of learning should be or what the access to educational opportunity should be. They do agree, however, that the need to improve and extend the quality of education of the disadvantaged at all levels is acute and urgent. Illustrations of the inability of school systems to reach students or respond adequately to the needs of teachers and administrators crop up with monotonous regularity in daily newspapers and periodicals. We have found in our NIE interviews much evidence to confirm educational deficiencies, as indicated by these examples:

> In Cincinnati and other major cities, young blacks are leaving school at alarming rates: not just the slow learners dropping out but increasing numbers of bright, promising kids being expelled because they are seen as an obstruction to the education of the majority of the students. If these rejects begin spending the major part of their days on the streets instead of in school, many will undoubtedly turn their considerable talents to work against the society that rejected them. The misdirection of the energies of these potential leaders will ultimately cost society greatly.
>
> As whites continue to leave inner cities in droves, black and Puerto Rican teachers inadequately schooled in formal and informal knowledge of how key decisions are made are often promoted to positions as school principals and, unaware of the interlocking workings of the school system with other domains, too often find themselves unable to cope with the complex, unfamiliar problems facing them.
>
> Most migrant children have an erratic pattern of schooling, starting and stopping as harvest seasons come and go. In a central Illinois elementary school, the migrant kindergartener

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may get spanked when she lapses into Spanish at recess while in California a fourth grader may be demoted to third grade because he has no records with him and cannot pass an achievement test designed for a different background of experience. Some migrant children never go to school at all.

On the Rocky Boy Indian Reservation in Montana, young men were trained to be meat cutters on the assumption that they would then be employed by a meat packing plant to be built nearby. The plant was never built.

A ranking official of a midwestern school system admits that only through the efforts of a local black militant (a high school dropout) had parents with problem children been persuaded to come into the school for consultation. But the official notes that it was difficult to work with this person because he (the militant) wanted to be included in consultations as a "friend of the court" which was considered impossible because of his lack of professional accreditation.

A school system ended its sponsorship of the community's Head Start program. Reason: the local poverty group (primarily black) was demanding that parents have a more important part in planning and implementing the program. The school district felt it could not participate in a program which would give uncertified people a policy-making role.

Change

How can we get the present system of education in the United States to provide access for subgroups of isolated and vulnerable people pocketed away from society? A magic box of innovative techniques, paper programs, and computer solutions will not change the basic relationship of the children of the poor to schools which stand as a symbol of the establishment which traps them where they are. It cannot be stressed too often that regardless of technological advances or improved ways to package, mechanize, or merchandise instructional materials, the major element in affecting educational change is the human one.

The kind of contact that teachers make with children is shaped by the structure of the system in which the teachers work. The situational variable, the recognition that the school setting is inseparable from the other settings which

shape a child, must also be taken into consideration. Educative efforts cannot be separated from social-political welfare and economic or job-oriented goals. Therefore, it seems obvious that in trying to improve education we must understand that the real place where the battles of education will be fought is in the interlocking political, legal, and financial arena.

One of the key concepts undergirding the notion of inequality in education is the use of legal structures for restoring equity.* Since the victim (the poor) of an injustice (inequality of educational opportunity) undoubtedly prefers to be compensated for his suffering rather than have his suffering justified, members of the prevailing power structure must be helped to acknowledge "responsibility for the victim's predicament." To achieve this state of affairs requires the creation of equitable relationships wherein the poor's ratio of outcomes to inputs is equal to the non-poor's outcomes to inputs ratio. Given this view of equitable relationships, a major issue in restoring equity for all people in our society requires a "consideration of the extent to which current legal practices encourage or discourage the equitable resolution of legal (and ultimately social, moral, and political) disputes." Therefore, first-order priorities for any program seeking to restore equity on all fronts would be (1) effective use of the courts and (2) restructuring of the legal systems to give the poor increased access to the means for obtaining their legal rights. Legal power, in turn, would supply the leverage for other changes.

A change in the financing of the public school system is imminent although what direction financing will take is less clear. As the California Supreme Court's decision on the Serrano case clearly indicates, local taxation

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*Stewart Macaulay and Elaine Walster, "Legal Structures and Restoring Equity," Journal of Social Issues, Volume 27, Number 2, 1971.

based on local assessed valuation, time-honored as the major way to finance school systems, may be on the way out. The historic linkage between affluence and school district expenditures has tended to deprive the poor of quality education as well as to impose inequities on taxpayers in districts of low taxable wealth. Legislative enactments to design more equitable school finance arrangements will likely provide increased dollars for the education of pupils residing in poorer districts. It behooves the nation to see that quality education increases as fiscal discrimination diminishes.

There also seems to be a shift in progress from a "one-culture" view towards one that permits more diversity in educational approaches (much as the flower children-hippie movement led to the acceptance of greater diversity in kinds of dress). The range of possible alternatives to conventional schooling is still undetermined but experimentation itself has already begun.

Broad educational reforms (War on Poverty, Title I) have been significantly unsuccessful in reducing the problem of educational inequities. Efforts have been piecemeal and not geared to improvement of the whole educational system. Highly visible programs aimed at improving the quality of peoples' lives have increased the hopes and expectations of poverty-trapped people, and an increasing number of these people who until recently would have accepted their disappointment meekly are becoming vocal about what they have and what they think they <u>should</u> have. It may be time to change tactics and start from the bottom up instead of from the top down. What most people want are corrective moves right at home: firing the principal who is too weak to deal with racial relations, straightening out the free lunch program, or helping to provide transportation for bus kids who stay late to participate in extracurricular activities.

Community control does not mean the control of one school in a district but rather a significant input into the decision-making process which affects the entire system. Modification of the system occurs because the community itself instigates change and therefore helps to perpetuate it. How can NIE build development programs to support these local efforts? How much support is NIE willing to give to communities whose solutions may often be at best in conflict with conventional expectations or even contradistinct to the prevailing value structure?

Assumptions and Goals

In preparing this program development document for NIE, we have made the following assumptions:

1. Education is a monolithic structure, unable to respond readily to change because of the many interlocking political, social, and economic variables which bind it to the status quo.

2. School systems with the freedom to introduce a variety of educational choices for children, their parents, and their teachers would promote a pluralism which would permit societal subgroups to live by their own value systems. Rather than being fragmentary, this diversity would enrich the culture as a whole.

3. Community control is essential in any successful plan for change. The disadvantaged are tired of being told what is good for them and having reform plans superimposed on them. Effective action is more likely to come when communities themselves see needs and try to find ways to satisfy these needs through their own local leaders. Community control is a way to make the system deliver basic goods and services so that the disadvantaged receive their rightful share.

4. The majority power bloc will not easily yield power for the improvement of minority groups.

5. It is neither necessary nor prudent that the NIE adopt a "great expectations" attitude towards the behavior of disadvantaged Americans. Poor people have had a sorry experience with zealous federal program reformers' promissory

> rhetoric focusing on behavior expected of them. NIE must focus its change rhetoric on the system. If poor people are enabled (through a redistribution of power and wealth) to participate in deciding their futures, there will almost certainly be inefficiency, ineffectiveness, and rip-offs. Should these problems occur, they should be researched and reformed as fervently as they are in the programs of the affluent community.

Because education has become such an important prerequisite for a productive and satisfying life in our society, inferior educational opportunity is a major form of discrimination. Closely related is deprivation in such domains as nutrition, housing, and occupation. Because all of these strands of deprivation are intertwined, change in any of these areas automatically involves change in the others. Therefore, although NIE's particular concern is education, proposals for change ultimately affect the whole system.

A Plan for Program Development

Before formulating this program development plan, a team of five university teacher/researchers conducted interviews with selected individuals throughout the country. We began with an inquiry into the credentialing processes as they operate presently in American education (Appendix D). Parents and welfare workers from Omaha, a Mexican-American minister and a young white man working on Indian reservations, lawyers fighting for the principle of equal rights, teachers on all levels, professors responsible for curriculums, social scientists and representatives from NEA, the Ford Foundation, Synanon, and SDC were among the interviewees. (See Appendix A for actual interview data). Once interviewers had returned to Illinois, they conferred to compare notes, discuss implications, and sum up interview findings. Because of the time constraint, the sampling is not as broad as might have been desirable but certain needs were identified as pervasive. Specific local needs were also important to the subgroups involved. Therefore, we have

tried to provide in our proposal for a wide variety of potential projects.

The task of this planning unit was to identify a plan to provide more equal educational opportunities for less advantaged persons.

We propose that NIE conduct developmental and research activities along lines that will identify and support local groups characterized by evidence of self-initiative and willingness to assume responsibility for shaping their own destinies. An important part of this program would be the legitimization of challenges to established procedures for remedying inequity--i.e., NIE would give meaning to the concept of "reform through experiment." Basic enabling support can be provided through NIE to help community subgroups solve problems which they have identified and to fund promising programs already ongoing which need supportive help to continue.

One illustration of how basic enabling support might function is described in Appendix C. A more conventional alternative might reflect an exemplary model of federal-state-local cooperation as illustrated by school-community projects of the past in rural regions. The Morrill Act, university departments of agriculture, state agencies, and cooperative extension advisers were instrumental in developing and implementing these endeavors. NIE could lead the way in facilitating the creation of contemporary versions suitable to an urban society.

The main value of this approach is that it encourages and enables local leaders to become actively concerned with critical community problems. In addition, because fund awards could vary greatly in amount, high-risk projects could be tried and experimental approaches field-tested without high initial cost.

NIE can free funds and provide resource people for developmental problems, study approaches to problems of the disadvantaged to find out what has or has not worked in the past, and identify promising approaches to be implemented.

NIE can emphasize the need for people working in any educational capacity to be sensitive to human needs, to have concern for individuals, and to be willing to make sacrifices for the improvement of the poor. Because NIE will be subject to fewer of the usual restrictions commonly associated with government agencies, it has the unique opportunity to give immediate and direct response to critical problems.

The proposal suggested here is not the only way. It is no more than a first attack on the problem. It is of less concern that this program be adopted for development than that it demonstrate the feasibility of what has been, until now, widely regarded as impossible.

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Appendix B

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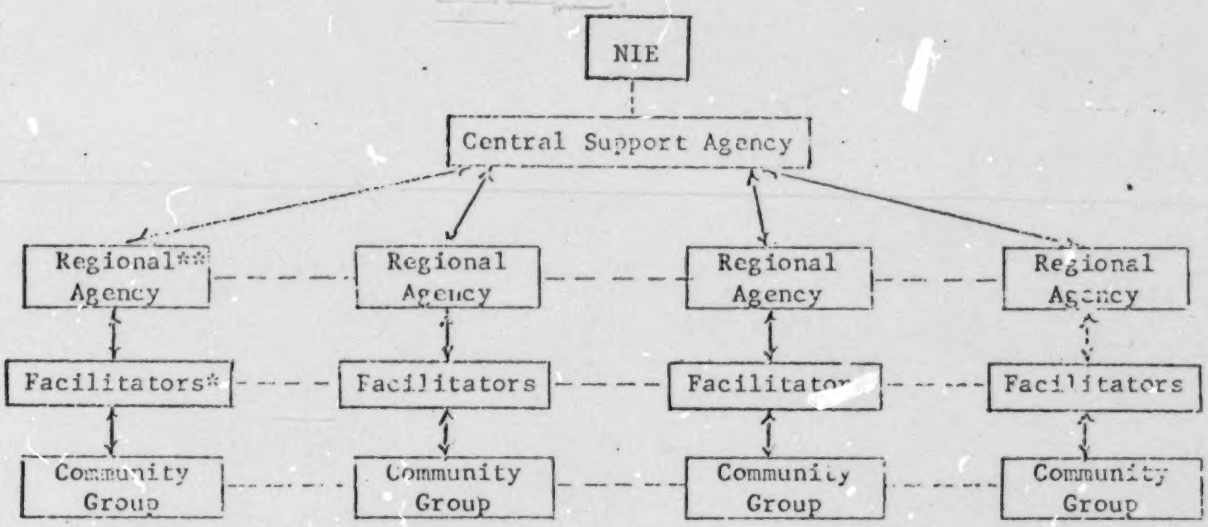
Appendix C

University of Illinois NIE Planning Unit

Proposed Structure for Community-Oriented Development Program



*Number to depend on the number of projects funded.

**Probably 9 or 10 regions would be identified.

The Plan Center

The central support agency would be established by NIE but would operate as an autonomous organization. Funds and resources granted to community development groups would be directly distributed by NIE but would be monitored by this central support agency through regional agencies around the country. It is intended that the central support agency and its regional arms would help community development groups moritor the expenditure of appropriated moneys but hopefully would not be seen by those community groups as the agency that has direct

control over their funding conditions. It is believed that this would mitigate any attempt on the part of the community to (1) develop programs that they think the regional agency would like simply to get funds or (2) develop hostility between the two groups because one group believes the other group controls their funding fate.

The major purpose in the creation of this central supportive agency is to allow community development groups to begin to identify and solve their own local problems without being plagued by extensive administrivia and the like. In other words, the central support agency would provide a protective and supportive umbrella for these local groups and at the same time it would be accountable to NIE for both the way moneys are being spent and for providing information on the development of local programs.

One point that should be clarified is "Can NIE create an autonomous agency which would in part monitor the funding and resource allocations to local groups?" As explained earlier, it would be difficult to operate the research and development action program discussed here if NIE did not have this broad agency creating power. But there appears to be precedence for this at the federal level in that regional labs already have autonomy to solicit, control, and monitor funds for local R & D efforts.

In addition to the creation of an autonomous support agency, NIE would need to create or subcontract others to develop study groups to research the effects the central support agency and the regional and local efforts have on the development of a community-oriented approach to solving the educational problems of the poor.

The central support agency could also provide some support to the efforts of local groups. With the help of the regional agencies and the facilitators at the community level, evaluative information could be amassed and disseminated--information concerned with local developments, resources available, persons identified with areas of expertise, and the like.

The facilitator would mediate the community group he serves and the regional agency from which he receives information about resource people, work in other projects, new education ideas, and sources of expertise. In return, the facilitator keeps the regional agency informed about the project he is working with and provides feedback for the agency to share with other community project facilitators in the region. The regional agency keeps the central agency informed on such matters as accounting for project funds and the direction in which individual projects are going and provides evaluation of projects, including the desirability of continued funding. The central agency advises NIE on the entire agency area of operations and transmits information from NIE as needed down through the system. The probable length of stay in any agency or facilitator job would be two or three years. Also, facilitators would be encouraged to move up to regional agency positions and the same step up for regional agency personnel would be desired. This could over time provide depth and wide experience to the operation.

The "replacement" for the facilitator is presumed to be local indigenous talent. A training component may emerge as a necessity. The past does not encourage us to suggest allocation of NIE resources to training. One of the pet schemes of universibusiness (sic) for ripping off poverty program capital has been training. The record is a sorry one.

Last, the central support agency would also create its own research operation. Since it would be monitoring data on the various local programs, it would have a rare opportunity to compare differential solutions to common problems. In this manner the central support agency can engage in comparative action research and evaluation efforts to generate some generalizable observations about the change processes. NIE central agency research and development efforts would be looking at questions which deal with how the system affects the individual and how individuals can be aided in shaping the system.

Further Explanation of Plan

In this plan a community is conceived as any group of people who wish to solve a problem which they have identified. This group must be able to express the existence of the problem but not necessarily state the steps of the solution in order to receive funding support. Part of what we are attempting to nourish with our plan is the community group's capacity to define their own problems and develop their own solutions.

Since community groups can select any problems they feel are in need of solution, it is logical to expect that there will be considerable diversity in the areas proposed. For instance, one community might be interested in finding ways to select and get members of their group elected to the local school board, another group might be interested in performance-based credentialing.

To let communities know that support and money are available, NIE must wage a massive dissemination drive using contacts in every local community. Local media must be involved fully (TV, radio, newspapers, posted announcements). Interested community groups would be asked to contact a regional NIE agency office

for details on submitting a request for funding. Regional NIE agency offices would function as information exchange centers. Set up by NIE as part of a separate agency, these offices would handle all administrative work for community projects funded in their region. They would process applications, account for fund use, and provide anecdotal reports on project progress. Information collected by this umbrella agency would be passed on to facilitators, persons skilled in group discussion and community action and knowledgeable with regard to sources of alternate instructional plans.

The Role of The Facilitator

A facilitator would work directly with a community as needed. Facilitators might be called on to help frame the original request for funds, to provide consultation or to live in the community for a period when community project leaders indicate such a need.

A facilitator must familiarize himself with the local community. He should understand the structure and interaction of such local power units as the planning board, the zoning board, and the election board. He must have a working knowledge of programs already geared to serve the community. In addition to personal-contact skills and basic economic and political knowledge, the facilitator must be aware of the legal system and local ordinances. Sometimes a community group can affect change by challenging existing authority on a legal point. Part of the facilitator's work would be to survey the community to learn of possible areas where leverage might be applied to effect change and to be ready with this information, if asked. Since part of his job would be to keep in touch with other community projects and educational efforts going on throughout the country (partly

through the regional agency), the facilitator could assist community groups to make contacts with resource people who have expertise in areas where help is needed. Other experienced facilitators could be brought in to aid the local group through petition to the regional agency. The community group would make all project decisions based on the members' perception of what is needed or would work best in a particular situation. The facilitator's role would be to make available information about alternative solutions, very likely reporting from his own experience as a grass roots worker involved in community problem-solving. His role would not be limited to passive information-giving. His success is defined in large measure by the community's success. If regional agencies are unable to create satisfied customers, they will not survive.

Specific ways a facilitator might help:

Identify tactics useful for affecting change in local power groups (persuasion, co-opting on basis of self-interest of groups, protests, boycotts, strikes).

Help in legitimizing grantee's efforts to improve chances of community cooperation.

Persuade community leaders that it is to their advantage to aid in community projects with finances or facilities (seed money from NIE might be used as leverage to get additional support from community being served).

Connect community group leaders to resource people either by bringing them together to discuss problems or by transmitting information from one to the other.

Advise consultants for community groups.

If NIE's efforts at providing basic enabling support for these community projects are successful, the role of the facilitator or consultant would be phased

out as the power of the community group peers grew and the project became self-perpetuating or accomplished its objective.

The proposed plan for development can provide an opportunity for a variety of research efforts actually evolving out of developmental situations. While conventional research designs could not be employed without altering the shape of the development effort, much empirical evidence could be gathered.

A research effort may be requested by the community group itself. One of the regional agency's jobs might be to provide researchers interested in working with the problems of the disadvantaged if a community seeks such help. As one of our interviewees (Williamson) stated, research arising out of an expressed community need has a higher reception-cooperation level than one imposed by an outside group.

Perhaps through the central agency, NIE could identify and train researchers to work with the problems of the poor and reward this work by publicly proclaiming it of value and suitable for scholarly effort. This tactic has ominous ancestry, as previously mentioned. Established researchers could be encouraged to lend their valuable experience and knowledge to problem-solving in this area, and new Ph.D.s could be recruited to join this force. Graduate-student thesis production might take on new value if students were encouraged to attach themselves to actual projects and to research practical and obviously relevant problems.

As a by-product, NIE might produce a directory of professional personnel cross-referenced by area of training, area of concern, and area of work experience. The regional agency or the facilitator would then have ready access to a group of experts who had already indicated interest in working to improve the quality of education of the disadvantaged.

The role of the state departments of education appears to be threatened by this developmental activity. It would be less than candid to fail to awknowledge this and imprudent to overlook the need for early work on this in the next phase of development.

The community or local group method of solving problems is not unique or untried. But it is a way to put significant impact into the decision-making process which affects the entire system.

By adopting a course of action similar to the one proposed NIE would have an opportunity to:

Demonstrate faith in the ability of communities to identify local problems and to act towards solving these problems.

Move towards restoring public trust in federal agencies by offering resources to fill community prescriptions, rather than broadly conceived national schemes.

Build an image of development clearly of service to the taxpayer in terms of welfare, corrective and punitive moneys saved when educational inequalities are reduced and job opportunities increased.

Appeal to professionals by offering opportunity to research both the practical and theoretical aspects of a given problem area as part of a development project.

Train community leaders and groups, local facilitators, and liaison agents in group interaction, skills, and tools needed to effect change in power structures, educational and otherwise, and identify the kinds of training needed in future projects or curriculums as part of a continuing education experience.

Work towards eliminating the view that all programs must deliver successful results in a short time by continuing to support those projects which seem promising but need more time and seasoning of leaders.

Encourage local groups, characteristically lacking power, to step forth and be heard, to suggest changes they would value, to try for federal money. Such enterprise, when supported, helps erase feelings of hopelessness, inadequacy, and powerlessness. New leaders may emerge and methods of working with local power structures learned.

We do not hold hope that the plan we propose will immediately result in dramatic change but hope instead that the many small changes effected will lay the groundwork for systemic change. The need to make the laws of our country serve all citizens equally and fairly and the need to redistribute resources is urgent. Sharing financial assets and professional resources is relatively simple. What is harder is for the advantaged to be willing to yield power so that the disadvantaged can have a share in dividing the resource pie according to their own identified needs.

We cannot guarantee success in improving the quality of education for everyone in our society, but we have no choice as to direction. We urge NIE to provide the leadership and resources needed.

Appendix D

Staff Discussion of Federal Program Teacher Credentials--10/12/71

In another statement I have described in brief detail what I believe might be an appropriate undertaking for NIE, the research and development of an alternate credentialing plan for teachers. In this paper I want to spell out more of the arguments I see for and against making this proposal.

We have been asked to draw up a plan with singular thrust for R and D that will contribute to the education of the poor. We have been asked to take a fresh look, to come up with something different. This may be unfortunate. What has been tried, but has not worked, might be a better bet if tried again another way. What has not really been tried, but has been suggested, might also be a better bet. But we have been asked to come up with something new.

We must keep in mind that whatever we propose is to be the exercise of a federal responsibility, probably defined already in existing legislation. At least it is not reasonable to suppose that the plan would be based on objectives that have not yet been identified in federal legislation.

We might be persuaded at some moment that federal intervention into education cannot succeed no matter how arranged. And we might feel that there is already too much intervention. Can any new plan avoid adding to the bureaucacy? But these are not issues to be considered here. It has already been decided that there will be an NIE and that it will undertake developmental programs to benefit the disadvantaged. Our responsibility is to find a fresh approach.

At what level should the federal government intervene? At present the legislation establishes a support rule, not an operative role for the federal government. Schools will remain in the hands of local boards, subject to state

school codes. The federal government can offer immediate or basic support. Immediate support would be providing teachers, instructional materials, teaching procedures, courses of study--those things that determine what will be taught and how it will be taught. Base support would be providing funds, teacher training--those things that are basically enabling but leave the questions of what and how undecided.

An immediate support role is attractive because it is more likely to have impact on education. But an immediate support role would be based on the idea that there is a greater wisdom outside the local area as to how and what education ought to be carried out locally and the idea that it is proper for the federal government to make these choices of how and what, or at least to limit them. It seems that there is little evidence for saying that one instructional approach is better than another. It is obvious to us that many different ways of teaching reading work. None work all the time, and we do not know why. We could recommend the seeking out of those approaches to instruction which seem most resistant to getting goofed up in one way or another, but these are likely also to be the approaches least adaptable to important local or personal goals. If we were closer to saying, "This is a workable program in these circumstances," then we would probably want to have NIE identify or create workable programs. But we have not succeeded there yet. And the issue of limiting the choice of the local district, of being paternalistic about curricula and about pedagogy, help push us toward advocating basic rather than immediate support. I realize that labs and R and D centers have been increasingly emphasizing immediate support, but this might not be the best choice for NIE. It seems that we might first look at new ways the federal government might intervene to provide basic enabling support rather than immediate, procedural support.

Many of the schools serving large numbers of the poor are urban schools. Recently, the Urban Coalition reported that in the recent years following the Kerner Report conditions in the cities have not improved; they remain as the Kerner Commission saw them. But one difference was noted: an increased determination by subgroups within the cities to solve their own problems. Some of these subgroups are racially defined, some are not. These subgroups are among those most vocally supporting decentralization, local option, and basic-skill teaching and most vocally opposing paternalism, teacher professionalism, and integration. Some of the goals of these subgroups coincide with national goals as expressed in legislation; other goals of these subgroups are contradictory to such national goals. In spite of the lack of a complete common purpose, it can be argued that these subgroups need support from the federal government.

These subgroups represent a viable, precious diversity in a country that has become greatly homogenized by the advancement of commerce, transportation, and communication. For any improvement of the system, a counter force, or a number of counter forces, are needed. The establishment forces, i.e., big school systems, teacher organizations, big business, big government, may not be in complete agreement on many issues, but they contribute more to protection of the status quo than to reforming the system. The total of these forces greatly exceeds the counter forces within the communities. For the improvement of education, these counter forces should be reinforced.

One way to help these subgroups in their agitation for better schools is to give them some better ways to operationalize what they want their schools to be. Model schools, prototype community action plans, and exemplary curricular materials can help. Another possibility is to have a better way to demand higher quality teaching.

Teacher qualification is subject to three big pressures. Teacher training programs, state certification laws, and local teaching habits shape teaching styles in every school in the country. A newly emerging pressure comes from contract negotiations, in which improvement of schools is discussed but in which improvement of instruction is sometimes subverted by improvement in working conditions. All persons involved in these several agencies are concerned about the welfare and achievement of students, but the resultant force from these three or four pressures is not toward improving the welfare and achievement of students.

When members of highly visible, vocal subgroups discuss what is necessary for improving the welfare and achievement of disadvantaged students, they are likely to speak of teacher sensitivities as well as teacher abilities. There are several important sensitivities: to the individual person; to the forces operating to deny equal opportunity; to the instances of poor reading, communicating, and studying; to opportunities to remediate those problems. It is reasonable to say that these people need help in specifying what those sensitivities are and how they can be made a part of their demands for reform. A procedure for credentialing teachers could provide that help. The credential could represent what to them was important, what teacher quality means, what will be rewarded at that school or in that program. The present certification and employment practices are not saying that these sensitivities will be rewarded.

Can these sensitivities be measured? That is a job for an R and D outfit. They might decide that they cannot, at least with the constraints as they are.

Should they be measured? It is only rational to plead for their measurement. The risks, the costs, the side effects are terribly important. The R and D effort should not be done by blunderbuss. (Blunderbussing is almost as bad as ordinary bussing.)

It seems that the two best arguments against an R and D effort for an alternative credentialing procedure would be that it would be too indirect and impotent an effort at reform and that it would not honor the diversity of teacher strengths. The schools offer an array of teachers/adults to even the primary school pupil. They should not be from a single mold but should represent a variety of styles, values, roles, and interests. Would the credentialing effort further reduce the idea of differentiated staffing? It is a worry. And is this whole idea but a transitory swirl of gasses on the surface of some distant star? It is a worry.